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The trustees of great wealth around the world are interested in the preservation of civilization, and yet they are forced to see its destruction threatened by the recurrence of war on what seems to be an ever-increasing scale. Finance, wealth, culture, are international and know no boundaries. The settlement of international disputes depends largely upon that international tribunal toward which the first and most important steps have already been taken. To carry on and to perfect the work already begun depends upon that demand, which can only follow the development of an enlightened public opinion. Such an enlightened public opinion demands, and demands now, great labor and the expenditure of large sums. For such a work this Society exists. The time for a constructive forward movement has arrived. Never in the history of mankind has there been a greater opportunity for wealth to manifest its power for good. A substitute for war is now the hope of the race, and if the right thing is done this hope may be reasonably realized. When once they understand, men are going to contribute to this propaganda as never before. Never in history have need and opportunity faced each other as now. The American Peace Society invites inspection, and asks support.

THE PROGRAM OF THE PACIFISTS

THE problem facing the world today is obscured by such words as Prussianism, imperialism, militarism, pro-Ally, pro-German. The problem upon which the collective judgment of the world must be brought to bear is the problem of war. The relatively unimportant should not befog this issue. The question for civilization to answer is, Is the method in force now in Europe the method which we must continue to employ in time of international differences? In other words, is war an inevitable expression of a natural law?

It so happens that war has been almost universally condemned, not only by the philosophers, but by the warriors themselves. While Emerson considered war to be an "epidemic of insanity," Jefferson called it "the greatest of human evils," and Franklin wrote "that there never was a good war nor a bad peace;" the soldier Carl Schurz was "indignant at the flippant talk of war." The Duke of Wellington considered it "a detestable thing." Napoleon, at St. Helena, concluded that brute force could never be counted upon "to create anything durable." General Sheridan held that "war will eliminate itself." General Sherman's definition of war is familiar, but it is not so well known that he considered the glory of war to be "all moonshine." General Grant plead for reason that it might supplant the sword. Washington frankly condemned war as the "plague to mankind." The prime question before the Congress of

Vienna in 1815—the question then vitally raised by all of the European States—was, "How can we overcome war?" That is the question we must continually ask today. Our education, our religion, our statesmanship, must be brought to bear upon the answer, and that as never before. The problem of our world is the problem of war. Honest men, almost unanimously, civilians and militarists, agree that this is the problem.

The factors entering into this problem are limitless and various. There are the economic rivalries and restrictions, with all the difficulties presented by the conflict between predatory and creative wealth. There are the political ambitions, fears, coercions, secrecies, oppressions, imperialisms. There are the personal greeds and ambitions, the human instincts, the provincial patriotisms, the sensationalisms, the fears of invasion and of hunger, the limited loyalties, the intolerances, and the numberless petty disputes. There is the inertia of ancient fallacies and outgrown doctrines—for example, that powerful States are necessary and desirable; that all life is in conflict; that governments are of divine origin; that they are therefore above the law, and that they rest only upon force. True, some seem conscientiously to favor war because it promotes serene moral grandeur, heightened color, exaltation, co-operative effort, and a unity of aims; but these are a minority. Of such are some of the real factors in the problem, factors which must be recognized and, if possible, resolved.

But the program in the light of such a problem and in the presence of such factors is our immediate interest. What is the program of pacifism? In brief, it is a juridical union of the nations—that is to say, an international law-making and law-interpreting organization. Civil policies must first be fashioned by civilians before the militarists can prescribe the nature of any "adequate defense." The civil policies can be developed only co-operatively and in the light of that justice which is the end and aim of States. The program of the peace societies is the program of international law, which is the expression of justice. The assumption of the pacifists is that war not only does not promote justice, but that it is in and of itself unjust. Therefore, since justice is the aim of States, and law is the expression of that justice, we pacifists urge that the promotion of international justice must take the direction of international legislation and international judicial interpretation.

This is no new position. As we often say, and must often say, the American Peace Society since 1840 has stood for a congress and high court of nations; and it so happens that this program has been the only program acceptable to or discussed by the nations.

We may be encouraged to believe that the world will at the close of this war turn hopefully again to this program. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 represented

all of the European States, discussing for nine long months their difficulties, with the result that they were able to settle them for a generation. If the Napoleonic wars produced such a result, the war now upon us will mean another gathering of the European nations in the interest of a more permanent peace. We need to remind ourselves frequently of the inspiring lessons of The Hague conventions, at both of which the nations framed laws for themselves and paved the way for judicial settlement. That all the nations now at war disclaim having started it, indeed, that they are fighting against war, is significant. The Wilson-Bryan treaties are now the law for this nation and sixteen others. The Canadian boundary is a constant example of the strength of an unfortified frontier. The rise of Pan Americanism out of our Declaration of Independence, which later inspired the independence of the other twenty American republics—a movement as old as Henry Clay and as new as the American Institute of International Law—is most hopeful. Then there are the evidences of a newer order, of an aristocracy of duties, service, and achievement, of that intensive and rational patriotism which we conceive to be an enthusiastic interest in promoting for our country its reputation for happiness and efficiency within and for fairness and justice to all without. By concentrating upon improved international relations and promoting the blessings of democracy, the pacifists attain unto their permanent satisfactions. Our noblest ideal for America is that here we may in our various institutions continue to show the genuine values in a peaceful and judicial state. In short, the aim of the pacifists is to substitute justice for force in the interest of life, liberty, property, and happiness; and our watchword is education.

THE DUTY TO THINK SANELY

THE people of the warring nations abroad can neither think sanely nor speak freely. The nations at war are mad. Democracy among them is no more. Newspapers are suppressed in liberty-loving England and France. The *habeas corpus* act is suspended. A man in Melbourne, Australia, known to oppose the method of recruiting, was visited by a committee, taken from his office, and tarred and feathered. A woman client, of no relation to the gentleman, but found in his office and thought to be his wife, was also tarred and feathered on general principles. The French novelist, Romain Rolland, finds himself a suspect because he refuses to hate the enemies of his country. He and many others are practically exiled from their native lands simply upon suspicion.

The statesmen of our country, right-thinking people generally, must view with pity, not alone the killing and the devastation in terms of wealth, but the breakdown

of calm judgment and of the poise so vital to wise behavior. This is no time for the Red Terror in America nor for the spirit of the drumhead court-martial. The wild expressions of professional alarmists should be weighed before acceptance. This is no time for a Navy General Board or for a military clique to replace the Congress. The man who talks threateningly about this country going to war with Japan, Germany, England, as if it were probable, is no fit person to whom to listen. He is a traitor in the camp of reason.

Our specific duty is to overcome any tendency to rear upon the groundwork of our unexampled but unperfected democracy what might be the structures of a military tyranny.

Why must we tremble at the goblins of imaginations run wild? Why be led around by the nose by people whose views are buttressed only upon the shallow sands of "It is thought"? "It is thought" that the Japanese are planning an alliance with Russia in order that British and American policies in China may be overcome. "It is thought" that the whole policy of Japan is to overcome our insistence upon an open door in China. "It is thought" that a victorious Germany would levy indemnity upon New York. "It is thought" that England, if victorious, would do the same. "It is thought" that imperialistic exploitation and Standard Oil in Manchuria are in danger; that the same is true of franchised monopolies in Latin-America; and that therefore we must prepare for domination in terms of vaster and more formidable armaments.

What is needed is more voices pleading for policies of rational mutual advantage. The intelligence of the world, what is left of it, needs to be concentrated upon the problem of world peace. We need to ask ourselves more searchingly how best we may aid in the co-operative development of backward regions. Missionary zeal in behalf of democracy and genuine prosperity, of the good of the world—where is that just now?

If States are overgrown and the world is adrift, as recently suggested by Lord Bryce and Mr. L. P. Jacks, let us somehow discover it, own up to it, and overcome it. Our vast contemporary literature of just "Where in the devil are we?" should give way to the question: "Toward what should we be headed; and how, once started, can we continue in that direction?"

Surely the America we love cannot long survive upon the theory that we exist simply to furnish a commissariat for the world war, and for other wars which need not come. One who reads disinterestedly the American press cannot wholly escape the impression that we in America are walking more and more "in a vain show"; that we are "heaping up riches," and that we "know not who shall gather them."

To every American the supreme call from out this "brawl in the dark" is to think sanely.